

others have said that we are not going to break up families anymore even though he was the cause of breaking up the families. What is the plan to get them back together? What is the plan for the future? They now say they are going back to the way it was under Obama because they don't have the resources. What are the resources they need? At the same time, when Sarah Huckabee Sanders says that they don't have the resources, President Trump says: I don't want any more immigration judges. This administration is just contradictory and tied in a knot.

Compounding the problem is the President's ranting—that is what he is doing; I hate to say it—at these rallies when he says that Democrats want crime. Democrats want open borders. Well, Mr. President, I am the author, with JOHN MCCAIN—someone you have also belittled—of a bill that passed this body with 69 votes that put \$40 billion on the border. It would have been far more effective than any wall. We could do that now. We could do comprehensive reform now if some people would be for it on the other side and in the White House.

These rants—these hysterical, nasty, finger-pointing rants—don't help bring bipartisanship here. Yet we expect that of the President, as he has been highly partisan, but they don't help solve the problem. He just shoots from the hip. The different agencies, whether they be the Department of Justice and the Attorney General, the Secretary of HHS, and the Secretary of Homeland Security, don't know what to do because there are so many contradictory signals coming. Who suffers? These poor little children who are separated from their parents suffer.

Two days ago, Sunday, in New York, I called for a czar—a good czar—because, when you have different agencies in charge, you need the White House to direct it all. This President shoots from the hip and is more interested in nasty rhetoric than in solving problems, and nothing gets solved. A czar—some capable, level-headed person who has the President's blessing in the White House, who could help coordinate between Justice and HHS and Homeland Security and the other agencies that are involved—could help solve this problem.

Whether it goes for the czar or not, this administration needs to present a plan—ASAP—of how to unify the kids and how to deal with the border. It has no plan. It has a lot of contradictory language. Let's hope it can get there for the sake of humanity and for the sake of what this country has been all about for its beautiful 229 years.

REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, on taxes, one of the chief arguments behind the Republican tax bill was the idea that giving corporations a substantial tax cut would compel companies to hire more workers, give raises, and expand operations.

After a few weeks of news about one-time annual bonuses petered out—and many of those were staged by CEOs sucking up to the President—we have started to get a look at how corporations are really using the profits from the Republican tax bill. What did Harley-Davidson, the iconic motorcycle company that President Trump talked about in his campaign and even afterward, do with their tax cuts? They cut domestic operations, announced a nearly \$700 million stock repurchasing program, and now are moving significant operations overseas. Why didn't Harley-Davidson take that tax break to help continue to employ workers here in America instead of a buyback so the wealthy CEOs and shareholders would get a lot of money? President Trump and Speaker RYAN have held up Harley-Davidson as a success story of their tax bill while they are cutting jobs in America and using the tax cuts for stock buybacks.

It is the same thing with Carrier. There was a great big hoopla with Carrier, but Carrier is cutting jobs and still employs loads of people overseas, even though they got a huge tax break. This tax break has helped the wealthy, the CEOs, the shareholders—most of whom are rich and one-third of whom are overseas—but not the workers and not more productivity in America.

Another one is Walmart. They are cited by the House as a positive example of the tax bill in action. Walmart laid off 1,000 employees in recent months and used the tax bill break for a \$4 billion buyback of its own stock.

This tax bill has proven to be a travesty. All the things that were promised aren't happening. I know our Republican colleagues. They talk to their wealthy businesspeople, and they think it is great. Talk to the average person. It has become unpopular again. Do you know why? It has sunk in that the money ain't going to them, and the big corporations that are getting these breaks are not benefiting them, by and large. Listen to this number: \$450 billion in stock buybacks have been announced. That doesn't employ a single worker. That doesn't raise the salary of a single worker. That doesn't bring new equipment to a company to make it more productive so they can compete better. An analysis was just done by JUST Capital, and 7 percent of the capital allocated by companies from the tax bill's savings has gone to employees, 57 percent to shareholders—close to eight times as much. We Democrats predicted that, and despite the initial hoopla after the bill, the American people are realizing it is happening.

It seems nearly every week, today with Harley-Davidson, there is a new example of corporate America taking a Republican tax cut and putting it to work—not for their employees, not for new equipment, not for new hires but for executives and shareholders. Let's not forget, 80 percent of the stock is held by 10 percent of the wealthiest people. One-third of the shares in

America are held by people overseas. As voters head to the polls this November, they should remember that Republicans spent over \$1.5 trillion of the taxpayers' money to give corporate America a handout while working America got left behind.

We Democrats need to fix that.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERTS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FARM BILL

Mr. ROBERTS. Madam President, I rise as the Senate considers legislation on an issue that is critically important to our Nation—the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018—the farm bill.

The goal, the responsibility, the absolute requirement is to provide our farmers, ranchers, and growers, and everyone within America's agriculture and food value chain certainty and predictability, especially during these very difficult times. This is paramount, absolutely paramount to any other issues and concerns.

It is not an exaggeration to say our Nation's food and fiber capability, with regard to production, hangs in the balance with what we do on this legislation. Simply put, let's get this done.

Many of my colleagues have introduced legislation over the last year that addresses priorities and stakeholders in their States. The bill that passed the Agriculture Committee, with the help and partnership of my distinguished ranking member Senator STABENOW, passed with a strong bipartisan vote of 20 to 1 earlier this month. That bill addresses many of these concerns. In fact, the Ag Committee's bill includes this bill we are considering today, portions of 65 stand-alone bills, and an additional 73 amendments were adopted in the committee. That is called working together. That is called regular order.

Needless to say, we have work to include as many priorities from Members both on and off the Ag Committee, and we want to continue working with Members to address their concerns. Prepare your amendments and come work with Senator STABENOW and me.

We are endeavoring to craft a farm bill that meets the needs of producers across all regions, all crops. All of agriculture today is struggling, not just one or two commodities. We are indeed going through a very difficult time; what we call in farm country, a rough patch.

We must have a bill that works all across our great Nation. We must ensure that our voluntary conservation programs are keeping farmland in operation while protecting our agriculture lands and forests and other